

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 112335

FOR MAYNES AND BARRY

FOL RPT USUN NEW YORK 01754 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN,
CAPE TOWN, DAR ES SALAAM, GABORONE, LAGOS, LONDON, LUSAKA,
MAPUTO, OTTAWA, PARIS & PRETORIA DTD 02 MAY 78

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 01754

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: MAY 1 MEETING OF CONTACT GROUP WITH SWAPO

1. SUMMARY. CONTACT GROUP (AT PERM REP LEVEL) MET
FOR AN HOUR-AND-A-HALF PM MAY 1 WITH SAM NUJOMA AND
FOUR OTHER SWAPO MEMBERS. NUJOMA REQUESTED FURTHER DIS-
CUSSIONS BETWEEN THE FIVE AND THE ENTIRE SWAPO NEGOTI-
ATING TEAM FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF
THE SPECIAL SESSION. NUJOMA WAS INSISTENT THAT ALL OF
THE ISSUES MENTIONED IN HIS APRIL 28 SPEECH HAVE STILL
TO BE RESOLVED, AND OUR EFFORTS TO GET HIM TO PUT THOSE
ISSUES IN ORDER OF PRIORITY WERE UNPRODUCTIVE. WE TOLD
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NUJOMA THAT WE SAW NO DIFFICULTY IN HOLDING FURTHER DIS-
CUSSIONS, BUT WE SAW NO LIKELIHOOD OF OPENING THE
PROPOSAL TO SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE. MEETING WAS EXASPERATING,
AS SWAPO SHOWED NO WILLINGNESS TO BEND. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CONTACT GROUP (AT PERMANENT REP-
RESENTATIVE LEVEL) MET FOR AN HOUR-AND-A-HALF PM MAY 1

WITH SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA ACCOMPANIED BY GURIRAB, TJONGARERO, SHIHEPO, AND NAUYALA. MEETING BEGAN WITH SWAPO PASSING TO CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS A TELEX FROM INTERNAL SWAPO (DATAFAXED TO IO/UNP, ATTN: TOM NILES) DENOUNCING THE RECENT DETENTIONS OF SWAPO MEMBERS IN NAMIBIA AND QUESTIONING WHETHER THESE ACTIONS WERE INDICATIVE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE BY SOUTH AFRICA.

3. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY REPLIED THAT IT WAS THE SITUATION WITHIN NAMIBIA WHICH UNDERScoreD THE URGENT NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT. HE ADDED THAT HE IS NOT SURPRISED AT THE DETENTIONS AND THAT SWAPO SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL ACT ANY DIFFERENTLY UNTIL THERE IS A SETTLEMENT. SIMILARLY, WE HAD WARNED SOUTH AFRICA THAT SWAPO'S INCREASED EFFORTS IN THE FIGHTING WERE TO BE EXPECTED IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREEMENT. MCHENRY THEN SUGGESTED THAT WE FOCUS THE DAY'S MEETING ON TWO PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS: (A) HOW WE SHOULD PROCEED FROM HERE; AND (B) WHAT ISSUES REMAIN TO BE DISCUSSED. MCHENRY SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE LIST OF REMAINING ISSUES COULD BE NARROWED AND IF SWAPO COULD PUT THESE REMAINING ISSUES IN ORDER OF PRIORITY SO THAT OUR ATTENTION AND EFFORTS COULD BE CONCENTRATED ON THE MAJOR ONES.

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4. NUJOMA BEGAN HIS RESPONSE WITH HIS USUAL STATEMENT OF APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE AND THEN STATED HIS VIEW THAT, AS SOON AS THE SPECIAL SESSION IS OVER, THE FIVE SHOULD HOLD FURTHER MEETINGS WITH THE ENTIRE SWAPO NEGOTIATING TEAM. (HE LATER SUGGESTED THAT THESE MEETINGS COULD BEGIN FRIDAY, MAY 5--THIS WOULD ALLOW ENOUGH TIME, HE FELT, TO BRING REST OF NEGOTIATING TEAM TO NEW YORK.) NUJOMA LISTED THREE ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION: WALVIS BAY, THE ROLE OF THE UN, AND THE LOCATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE. HOWEVER, IT QUICKLY BECAME CLEAR THAT SWAPO SUBSUMES A WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES UNDER THE RUBRIC OF THE "ROLE OF THE UN". NUJOMA STATED THAT THESE WERE MAJOR ISSUES YET TO BE RESOLVED AND THAT IT WOULD NOT HELP ANYONE IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WERE TO CONSIDER NAMIBIA PRIOR TO RESOLVING THEM. IN A VEILED THREAT, HE STATED THAT IF WE INSISTED ON GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHOUT FIRST RESOLVING THOSE ISSUES, SWAPO WOULD BE "BOUND TO BRING OUT OUR DIFFERENCES" IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. NUJOMA ENDED THIS INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY STATING THAT SWAPO COULD NOT AGREE TO THE PRESENT PROPOSAL BECAUSE IT IS A "ONE-SIDED PROPOSAL AIMED AT PUTTING OUR

ENEMY IN AN ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION."

5. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY STOPPED HIM IMMEDIATELY, SAYING QUIETLY BUT FIRMLY THAT OUR TALKS WILL GET NOWHERE IF THERE CONTINUES TO BE A HURLING OF ACCUSATIONS. "IT MAY BE YOUR VIEW THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD RESULT IN PUTTING SOUTH AFRICA IN AN ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION, BUT IT IS COMPLETELY UNHELPFUL FOR YOU TO DESCRIBE THAT AS OUR 'AIM'." MCHENRY WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE RAISED THIS POINT BECAUSE OF OTHER ACCUSATIONS AND BECAUSE OF HIS BELIEF THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO CLEAR THE AIR.

6. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE FIVE WOULD HAVE ANY PROBLEM
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WITH HOLDING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS BUT THAT THE GROUP COULD NOT RESPOND DEFINITELY ON THAT QUESTION AT THE TIME. HE ADDED THAT IF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD, HE ASSUMED THEY WOULD BE AT THE CONTACT GROUP LEVEL. PAUL LAPOINTE (DEPUTY PERM REP OF CANADA) AGREED THAT HE DID NOT SEE ANY PROBLEM WITH ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS BUT SAID THAT HE DID NOT WANT SWAPO TO BE UNDER ANY FALSE IMPRESSIONS. IT MIGHT BE GOOD, LA POINTE CONTINUED, TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS AIMED AT MAKING THE PROPOSAL CLEARER, BUT HE DID NOT WANT TO LEAVE SWAPO WITH THE FEELING THAT THE FIVE ARE WILLING TO REOPEN THE PROPOSAL TO SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE. THIS LED TO WHAT WAS PERHAPS NUJOMA'S MOST OUTLANDISH STATEMENT OF THE EVENING. NUJOMA LAUNCHED INTO HIS FAMILIAR ARGUMENT THAT THE FIVE ARE TRYING TO FORCE THEIR PROPOSAL ON SWAPO. BY ATTEMPTING TO FORCE THE PROPOSAL ON SWAPO, HE SAID, "THE FIVE HAVE NOW BECOME THE COLONIAL POWER OF NAMIBIA".

7. THROUGHOUT THE MEETING EFFORTS ON THE PART ON THE PART OF THE FIVE TO GET SWAPO TO NARROW THE LIST OF REMAINING ISSUES WERE FRUITLESS. NUJOMA INSISTED THAT ALL OF THE ISSUES MENTIONED IN HIS APRIL 28 SPEECH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WERE YET TO BE RESOLVED. HE MADE A SPECIAL POINT OF THEIR UNCERTAINTY OF THE PROPOSALS GIVEN THE NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE. SIMILARLY, OUR EFFORTS TO GET HIM TO PUT THE ISSUES IN SOME ORDER OF PRIORITY WERE UNPRODUCTIVE. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY THEN COMMENTED THAT SWAPO'S REAL DIFFICULTIES WITH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT SEEM TO STEM FROM AN UNDERSTANDABLE AND MAMMOTH DISTRUST OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS--A DISTRUST WHICH SEEMED TO EXTEND TO THE CONTACT GROUP. HE CONCLUDED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW HOW TO REMOVE THAT DISTRUST BUT
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THAT HOPEFULLY THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE ABLE TO CONVINCE SWAPO THAT THE PROPOSAL STAND AS WRITTEN (I.E., THERE ARE NO SECRET AGREEMENTS) AND NOT AS SOUTH AFRICA DESCRIBED THEM.

8. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SWAPO AND THE FIVE LIE NOT IN THE PROPOSAL BUT IN THE INABILITY OF SWAPO TO VISUALIZE HOW CHANGED THE SITUATION WOULD BE IN NAMIBIA ONCE THE UNITED NATIONS ARRIVED ON THE SCENE. THE UN ROLE (WHAT KIND OF TROOPS THERE WOULD BE, HOW THEY WOULD BE STATIONED, WHAT TASKS THEY WOULD PERFORM) IS WHAT MUST BE MADE CLEARER-- NOT THROUGH REVISING THE PROPOSAL BUT SIMPLY THROUGH INCREASING THE UNDERSTANDING OF HOW PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS WORK. HE ADDED THAT TO OPEN THE PAPER TO REVISIONS WOULD BE TO LET SOUTH AFRICA OFF THE HOOK. THIS LATTER POINT WAS REITERATED BY UK AMBASSADOR RICHARD, BUT NUJOMA SIMPLY REPLIED THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA CHANGES ITS MIND AND REJECTS THE PROPOSAL, SWAPO WILL ENSURE MILITARILY THAT SOUTH AFRICA RETURNS TO THE FOLD.

9. COMMENT. THE MEETING WAS FRUSTRATING AND SOMEWHAT TENSE. SWAPO DID NOT BUDGE AN INCH ON ITS WELL-KNOWN COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE PROPOSAL, THUS PROMPTING QUESTIONS FROM THE FIVE OF WHETHER SWAPO INTENDED US TO START THE WHOLE NEGOTIATING PROCESS OVER AGAIN FROM THE BEGINNING. SWAPO'S UNWILLINGNESS TO BEND MAY BE DUE IN PART TO THE ONGOING SPECIAL SESSION AND TO THEIR INABILITY TO ALTER THEIR POSITION WITHOUT CONSULTING THE MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATING GROUP NOT PRESENT IN NEW YORK. FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE SWAPO MEETING, THE CONTACT GROUP MET PRIVATELY TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS. REPORT ON THAT MEETING FOLLOWS SEPTEL. END COMMENT. YOUNG UNQUOTE VANCE

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